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CANADA IN 1896 AND 1897.

BY J. CASTELL HOPKINS.

THE year 1896 has been as memorable in Canadian annals as that of 1897 will prove to be in the history of the British Empire. During the past year the Canadian Government which, so far as it represented the Conservative Party, had stood the shock of political warfare for over 18 years, reached the crisis of its existence and was defeated at the polls. The Canadian Liberal Party which during a similar period had struggled unceasingly and courageously, obtained at last the approval of the electorate and received the reward of persistence and what had seemed for years to be a hopeless contest with entrenched power and popularity. The Canadian people at the same time entered upon what is undoubtedly an important national experiment. During recent years, and especially since the death of Sir John A. Macdonald, politics in Canada have seemed to the close observer to be growing more and more into a struggle between the ins and the outs. Nominally the principles of the two organizations remained the same as they did during the great conflict of 1891, when Sir John Macdonald won the election in part through charges of disloyalty directed against some of the leaders and some of the followers of Canadian Liberalism. Whether rightly or wrongly a sufficient number of people believed these statements, and the proof adduced, to turn the tide in favour of the Conservatives. It is probable, however, that Sir John Macdonald's own personality had more to do with the result than even this cause.

In the elections of last year there was no such issue nor was there any pronounced suspicion of disloyalty asserted on either side, although the principles of the two parties remained practically the same. The Conservatives were in favour of the maintenance of the protective tariff; of closer

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trade relations with Great Britain; of an Imperial preferential system; of cable communication with Australasia; of a fast steamship line to England; and of legislation in favour of the schools of the Roman Catholic minority in the Province of Manitoba. The Liberals on the other hand were avowedly in favour of theoretical free trade principles; of reciprocal trade relations with the United States; and opposed to any policy which should alienate any American sympathies or feelings of friendship which might be supposed to exist. In place of the Imperial Federation which had become the central theme of Conservative oratory and hope they looked to, and frequently spoke of, the co-operation and possible unity of the Anglo-Saxon race. Upon the Manitoba school question they were divided, as indeed was the Conservative party itself, but they had distinctly the advantage in the fact that their leader, Mr. Laurier, was a Roman Catholic and a French-Canadian, and therefore not as susceptible, in any compromise which he might effect, to the charge of sacrificing the rights of the Roman Catholic minority in Manitoba, as was Sir Charles Tupper. Moreover, their leader was able to obtain the practical sympathy of the Liberal Premier of Manitoba, who was necessarily more or less antagonistic to the Conservative leaders at Ottawa; and in this way people in Protestant Ontario and Manitoba naturally felt that Mr. Laurier could more easily effect an arrangement with Mr. Greenway and more easily obtain the support of French Canada in carrying out the arrangement than Sir Charles Tupper could possibly do. To cap the climax, the Orangemen of Ontario, who had hitherto unanimously supported the Conservative policy, refused to follow a platform which involved the restoration, or attempted restoration, of separate Catholic schools in Manitoba.

Mr. Laurier in this peculiar conjunction of affairs, and after prolonged public doubt as to his policy, finally took a manly and honourable stand and declared his intention not to support the Remedial Bill which had been introduced in

the last days of the dying Parliament by Sir Charles Tupper. In taking this step he ran a tremendous risk of alienating the Roman Catholic Liberals of Quebec. In the end, however, by one of those peculiar currents of popular thought which sometimes run through the minds of a people, the electors of his native Province seemed to feel that the time had come for them to have a French-Canadian and Catholic Prime Minister. He accordingly surprised his friends and astonished the country by sweeping Quebec with a majority which placed the Liberal Party in power after 18 years of Opposition. It is impossible in this connection to avoid some feeling of admiration for both of the leaders in this contest. Sir Charles Tupper had fought the battles of Canada for over 40 years and had come out from London during a crisis in the history of his party to try and weld together what looked very much like the shattered remnants of a once great organization. In doing so he not only took his political life in his hand, but commenced a most arduous Parliamentary and national campaign at an age when most men desire a considerable measure of rest. He also assumed the burden of defending what seemed to him, and to a large proportion of his party, to be the rights and privileges which had been guaranteed to the small Catholic minority of the Province of Manitoba by the pact of Confederation. He made a brave fight both to organize his party and to do what he believed to be justice in the vexed and tangled Manitoba School question. Mr. Laurier on the other hand reached at this time the crisis of a career which has been characterized by a great measure of personal popularity and respect, and marked by a very wide appreciation of his powers as an orator in both the French and English languages. Whatever may have been the faults of his party during past years, and in connection with problems of Imperial expansion and Canadian development, it was felt during this election that he now represented a very strong Canadian sentiment, as in his speeches he had long indicated an intense admiration for English

Liberalism, and the principles which are understood by that term. Both leaders and both parties were equally and extremely loyal in their declarations during the Venezuelan crisis and were united in their support of the Conservative policy of re-arming the Militia.

These events of 1896 have therefore thoroughly paved the way for the union of both parties and all sections of our people in celebrating and loyally appreciating the 60th anniversary of the accession of her Majesty the Queen and Empress. Much will probably be done in this direction by the cities and towns of the Dominion in the way of local demonstrations. It is proposed also that the loyal resolutions which will be passed by Parliament and by all the Provincial legislatures should be forwarded and presented simultaneously. In the City of Toronto preparations are being made to lead in the direction of local demonstrations, and there is a wide feeling throughout the country in favour of more or less permanent memorials being raised to mark the event. I have revived the suggestion which I made a couple of years ago and also presented at the Congress of Chambers of Commerce of the Empire in London last June that Her Majesty should be invited by our Parliament to assume the title of *QUEEN OF CANADA*. Without going into the self-evident advantages of such a step, and the equally apparent reasons for it, I can state with perfect confidence that it would be approved by the mass of our people with enthusiasm. Aside from the Queen's personality Canadians are beginning to understand something of the great work which she has performed during her reign in connection with the Government of the Empire and its internal and external development. It is not however understood even yet as fully as ought to be the case.

CANADA UNDER THE QUEEN.

THE influence of the Queen's name, personality, and position has been very great in the making of Canada and the moulding of its peculiar national sentiment. In earlier

years, before Confederation gave the people of British North America an impetus towards united development, the feeling of loyalty to the Sovereign, and a desire to maintain British institutions—incomplete as they then were—constituted a chief bond of connection between the scattered Provinces, and afforded a powerful protection against the assimilating influences of the preponderating mass of population to the south.

It was fortunate that some such influence permeated Canadian thought in the stormy days when the Queen came to the throne, and during the period in 1849 when a genuine annexation cloud floated over the country. The French-Canadian is naturally monarchical in principle. He is the French peasant of days long prior to the Revolution, transported to Canadian soil and imbedded in the midst of a British community. So, also, in what was then called Upper Canada, the governing classes and a large part of the population were immediate descendants of United Empire Loyalists—men who had lost all for King and country during the revolt of the thirteen colonies. The rebellion of 1837 was therefore a fiasco, so far as it was directed against the Sovereign and in favour of a republic. The mass of the people would have nothing to do with it, even though there were admitted abuses to be rectified and admittedly justifiable demands for self-government still ungranted. And both the omissions of Downing Street and the somewhat high-handed conduct of local governments were remedied or reformed within the following decade under the quiet action of constitutional authority and legal procedure.

The general feeling of sympathetic allegiance to the Crown does not seem to have been obliterated by the continued opposition of the Governors to popular reform and responsible government, although the general discontent had culminated in a restricted rebellion. Canadians as a rule laid the blame where it was due. Ignorance of local conditions amongst politicians at home, coupled with com-

plications in Imperial politics and changing views upon questions of Colonial policy, were the chief reasons. And since those days we are better able to appreciate the situation. England herself was not enjoying the full measure of popular rule which Canadians in some cases demanded. Ireland was a sore spot in the body politic, and all statesmen were afraid of giving too much freedom to a people who might use it, as the Irish were doing and the Americans had done, against the unity of the Empire. The United States was a living lesson in the possibilities of separation. The French-Canadians were an unknown factor in such a connection, although they had loyally stood by England in defence of their religion and language against possible submersion by the American Colonies. Opinions upon the value of colonies, and upon the proper relationship of a colony to the Crown, were in a state of ebb and flow—a condition of confusion which lasted off and on for more than forty years. And, above all, British America was almost unknown, and its history, people, and resources were as little understood in England as they were in the Colonies themselves.

Plenty of reasons, therefore, existed for caution on the part of Downing Street, and for opposition to hasty change on the part of Her Majesty's earlier representatives. And, moreover, the latter, when they reached Canadian shores, became impressed with the reasonable fear that, as things then were, too great a lessening of their own prestige and authority, or too much approximation to what were called American ideas and American methods, might result in a serious movement for separation. Time has proved the mistake of this view, but it has also caused justice to be done to the motives of men like Sir Charles Metcalfe, who, in one of his last addresses in British North America—spoken in 1843 to the Councillors of the Gore district—urged that every privilege had been granted to the people compatible with the maintenance of British connection; claimed that the Imperial Government had no desire to

interfere unnecessarily in local colonial affairs, and added that "it can never consent to the prostration of the honour and dignity of the Crown, and I cannot be the traitor that would sign the death-warrant of British connection."

There is now no doubt that this Governor-General had studied the question of responsible government very closely, and that he acted honestly and patriotically in periods of intense pain and circumstances of heroic self-sacrifice—he was dying slowly from a cancer in the face. And it appears that his general course commended itself to the Queen. Her Majesty is known to have then and ever since looked earnestly and fully into all matters which came within the wide sphere of her duties, and when Sir Robert Peel wrote in 1844 to advise the conferment of a peerage upon Sir Charles Metcalfe because of his great services, and as "aiding him in the discharge of a most important public trust," and in "giving confidence and animation to his Canadian friends and supporters," the Queen hastened to respond in a letter which declared that "he richly deserves this mark of the Queen's entire approbation and favour." Later on, in November, 1845, when Lord Metcalfe was forced by the progress of his disease to tender a resignation, which was to take effect whenever he found himself unable to further conduct the public administration, Lord Stanley—then Colonial Secretary, and afterwards Earl of Derby and Prime Minister—wrote that

"Her Majesty is aware that your devotion to her services has led you, amidst physical sufferings beneath which ordinary men would have given way, to remain at your post to the last possible moment. The Queen highly estimates this proof of your public spirit; and in accepting your proffered resignation, which in the present circumstances she feels it impossible to decline, has commanded me to express her entire approval of the ability and prudence with which you have conducted the affairs of a very difficult Government, her sense of the loss which the public service is about to sustain by your retirement, and her deep regret for the cause which renders it unavoidable."

Now that the partisan strife of those days is merged in the broader appreciation of historic retrospect, it is probable

that the great majority of Canadians will endorse the Queen's view of Lord Metcalfe's sturdy British pluck and devotion to duty. In details he may have been, and was, mistaken, but in loyalty to the great principle of British union he stands as one of the heroes of Canadian history. Meanwhile party government in England had passed to the Liberals, and Earl Grey came into the Colonial Office with many new ideas and theories. Some were good and some the reverse, but the general principle was one of letting the colonies do pretty much as they liked. This was gradually developed by the teachings of the Manchester school into the cultivation of a popular belief that the colonies were not much good to England, and could leave the Empire at any time without causing it serious injury.

Lord Grey's first step in the appointment of the Earl of Elgin to succeed Lord Metcalfe was a good one. The policy of the new Governor-General also proved to be excellent. It enforced the British principles of his predecessor, conciliated the reforming elements in the country, and made commercial arrangements with the United States which were both beneficial and honourable. But Lord Elgin had much to contend with at home. The utterances of English statesmen looking forward to the eventual independence of the colonies had helped the movement for annexation which arose in Canada in 1849 as the result of the commercial and business troubles following the abrogation of the old-time British preferential arrangements. The Prime Minister—Lord John Russell—had actually himself referred in speeches to the probability of separation, and Lord Elgin's published correspondence with the Colonial Secretary abounds in vigorous protests against this and similar utterances. The narrowness of view which thus stamped the statesmen of the day is shown by a letter from Sir George Cornewall Lewis—September 28th, 1848—in which he speaks of the uselessness of settling, or even retaining, Vancouver Island. "For practically," he observes, "it is in a different world from our provinces on

the western coast of North America. If any people can colonize it with advantage it must be the Americans." Other politicians, such as Cobden and Bright, Lord Ashburton—the hero of the miserable treaty which goes by his name—Lord St. Vincent, Lord Ellenborough, Sir George Campbell, Mr. Lowe, and even Lord Monck himself, were tainted by this weak and wicked principle of disintegration.

They held, in part or in whole, the doctrines of the rising Manchester school, and thought that colonies were of little value to the mother-land—more of a burden than a benefit. To them the United States was a great allied power, without aggressive ambitions, and willing to work in harmony with a glowing future of Anglo-Saxon unity. True, it had purchased Louisiana from France, and obtained Florida from Spain; it had annexed, or was about to annex, Nevada and California, Utah and New Mexico, Arizona and Texas—to say nothing of the future purchase of Alaska, and the extension of the Maine boundary line at the expense of Canada. But it had not yet gone in for high protection, and was not therefore touching the pockets of certain English patriots who were not possessed of sufficient sentiment and national sense to appreciate the fact that trade and territory were ere long to be synonymous terms. This class, however, limited as it was in numbers, had great ability, and was aided by the circumstances of the time in cultivating a wide sweep of anti-colonial thought. What they knew or cared for the early history of Canada and its struggles for British connection, and battles for the British flag, amounted to less than nothing. Commerce and peace at any price was too often their motto, and the time has now come for men to measure the possible disasters around which the glamour of Bright's eloquence and Cobden's high character have thrown a web of admiration.

They argued that the American people were not aggressive and did not want Canada, and if they did want it, and

took it, the loss would only involve a transfer of useless territory to a friendly and brotherly power. Such were the sentiments which Lord Elgin had to controvert, and which in modified and varied forms controlled English politics and colonial policy until the rise of Mr. Disraeli and the steady pressure of the Queen's Imperial sentiments had produced a final and crushing defeat. Her Majesty showed an early, and indeed continuous, interest in Canada. The sending of the 100th Regiment to the Crimea gave her special pleasure, and in December, 1858, it was arranged that the Prince of Wales—then only seventeen years of age—should perform his first military function by a review of the Canadian contingent at Shorncliffe. After the review was over, the Prince presented the troops with a new set of colours, and then addressed Colonel de Rottenburgh and his officers and men, in words illustrative of the Royal idea—antagonistic as it then was to the prevalent Manchester school principle—

"It is," said the youthful heir to the throne, "most gratifying to me that, by the Queen's gracious permission, my first public act since I have had the honour of holding a commission in the British army should be the presentation of the colours to a regiment which is the spontaneous offering of the loyal and spirited Canadian people, and with which at their desire my name has been specially associated. The ceremonial on which we are now engaged possesses a peculiar significance and solemnity, because, in confiding to you for the first time this emblem of military fidelity and valour, I not only recognise emphatically your enrolment into our national force, but celebrate an act which proclaims and strengthens the unity of the various parts of this great Empire under the sway of one common Sovereign."

Two years later arrangements were made by the Queen and Prince Consort for a tour through British America by the Prince of Wales, and a visit to Cape Colony by Prince Alfred. It was a far-sighted policy, and one full of Royal belief in the Colonial future as well as of self-sacrifice in sending their sons upon what seemed, in those days, to be journeys of grave import, if not serious danger.

The Prince of Wales' visit to Canada was not altogether without precedents, though rather distant ones. Prince

William Henry had visited the Provinces in 1787, while Prince Edward, Duke of Kent, and father of Her Majesty, had spent some years in Nova-Scotia as commander of the forces, and had been present at the inauguration of the Constitution of 1791—in which George III. took such an interest, and wherein he had so actively used his influence to promote the liberties and privileges of the French Canadians. Prince Edward in particular had done much to make the British Provinces better known to the authorities in England. His correspondence with De Salaberry during the war of 1812; his efforts to have justice done that distinguished officer after the victory at Chateauguay; his letter upon the proposed new constitution written to Chief Justice Sewell in 1814; all indicate the truth of Lord Durham's statement that "no one better understood the interests and character of the Colonies" than he. But neither of these princes had been heir to the Throne of the Empire, and they had not therefore, at the time, represented the highest elements of monarchy and loyalty as did the Prince of Wales.

Nor did they embody the Imperial spirit in the manner which made Prince Albert exclaim in a letter written on April 27th, 1860: "What a charming picture is here of progress and expansion of the British race, and of the useful co-operation of the Royal family in the civilization which England has developed and advanced. In both these young colonies our children are looked for with great affection and conscious national pride." The immediate occasion of the visit to Canada was an invitation and promise to open the great Victoria Bridge across the St. Lawrence at Montreal. But some kind of an intimation had been made during the Crimean war that as soon as the Prince was old enough a tour of British America might be arranged. The Queen was able to look ahead, if her Ministers were not, and she foresaw the desirability of cultivating and strengthening the inherent loyalty of what might some day be a great people. Taking advantage,

therefore, of what seemed propitious circumstances, the Canadian Legislature, on May 4th, 1859, passed a unanimous address, and sent it to London in the care of the Speaker of the Assembly, Mr. (afterwards Sir Henry) Smith. In it they invited the Queen herself, accompanied by the Prince Consort, and such members of the Royal family as it might please her to attend upon the occasion, and urged that an opportunity be thus given the inhabitants of Canada to testify their loyalty to the Throne and Empire. Though it was pretty well understood that Her Majesty could not come in person, this was, of course, the best way of presenting the request, and it elicited a most favourable response—received by the Governor-General from the Duke of Newcastle in time for the opening of Parliament in 1860. In the course of the reply it was stated that :

“Her Majesty values deeply the attachment to her person and the loyalty to the Crown which have induced this address, and I am commanded to assure the Legislature, through you, how lively an interest is felt by the Queen in the growing prosperity of Canada, in the welfare and contentment of her subjects in that important province of her Empire, and on the completion of the gigantic work which is the fitting type of the successful industry of the people. It is therefore with sincere regret that Her Majesty is compelled to decline compliance with this loyal invitation. Her Majesty feels that her duties at the seat of the Empire prevent so long an absence, and at so great a distance, as a visit to Canada would necessarily require.

“Impressed, however, with an earnest desire to testify to the utmost of her power her warm appreciation of the affectionate loyalty of her Canadian subjects, the Queen commands me to express her hope that when the time for the opening of the bridge is fixed it may be possible for His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales to attend the ceremony in Her Majesty's name, and to witness those gratifying scenes in which the Queen is herself unable to participate. The Queen trusts that nothing may interfere with this arrangement ; for it is her Majesty's sincere desire that the young Prince, on whom the Crown of the Empire will devolve, may have the opportunity of visiting that portion of her dominions from which this address has proceeded, and may become acquainted with a people in whose rapid progress towards greatness Her Majesty, in common with her subjects in Great Britain, feels a lively and enduring sympathy.”

Read between the lines, and in connection with the ignorance and lack of Imperial sentiment then so pronounced, this letter, as well as the policy involved, is seen

to be the product of the Queen's own heart and mind. It was not the kind of an idea or document which the Duke of Newcastle would have at that time initiated; though he afterwards became a warm and sincere friend of Canada, and an active participator in the work of creating a new Dominion which the first of July, 1867, saw completed. Nor was it the sort of policy which Lord Palmerston or Mr. Gladstone, or even the Mr. Disraeli of those days, would have propounded. But it was unquestionably great in its conception and more than successful in its application and results. By the 9th of July all arrangements had been made, including the acceptance of an invitation from President Buchanan to visit the United States, and on that day the Prince left for his ship, the *Hero*, after being accompanied to Plymouth by the Prince Consort, and to the Royal yacht which was to transfer him aboard, by the Queen, Princess Alice, and Prince Arthur. In replying to a farewell address at Davenport he declared that he went to "the great possessions of the Queen in North America with a lively anticipation of the pleasure which the sight of a noble land, great works of nature and human skill, and a generous and active people, must produce." The voyage to Newfoundland took two weeks, and in that loyal and ancient colony the reception was enthusiastic to the last degree.

Halifax was reached on July 30th, and here His Royal Highness was formally received by Lord Mulgrave, the Lieut.-Governor—afterwards Marquess of Normanby—and by guards of honour and multitudes of people. His suite throughout the ensuing tour consisted of the Duke of Newcastle and the Earl of St. Germain, Lord Chamberlain to the Queen; General Bruce, the Governor of the youthful Prince Dr. Auckland, his physician; together with Major Teesdale, v.c., and Captain Grey, two of his Equerries-in-Waiting. A loyal address was presented by the Mayor and City Council of Halifax, which included a reference to "the grandson of that illustrious Duke (of Kent) whose

memory is gratefully cherished as the warm and constant friend of Nova-Scotia." A triumphal procession to the Government House, an address from the two Houses of the Legislature, and a great State dinner in the evening ; a review of the troops next day ; an illumination of the city at night, together with a ball in the Provincial Buildings ; a *levée* during the succeeding day, with an entertainment to the volunteer officers by the Prince ; a grand display of fireworks and an illuminated fleet in the harbour ; filled up and completed the three days' visit.

Of a similar nature was the reception given to the Prince at St. John, New Brunswick. It was, however, specially marked by a most able sermon preached by Bishop Medley, and by words of warm appreciation spoken by the former in reply to an address from the Provincial Government, and in connection with the volunteers. "Every visitor to your shores," remarked the Prince, "but more especially the son of your Queen, must earnestly pray that your peaceful avocations may never be disturbed ; but in case such a misfortune should await the Empire, I rejoice to observe the self-relying spirit of patriotism which prevails ; and I see in the discipline of your volunteers the determination to protect the national honour which is manifested in every portion of the Queen's dominions." At Indiantown, and Truro, and Pictou, his welcome was equally warm, though naturally not as elaborate. In Charlottetown, the capital of Prince Edward Island, the decorations were really beautiful and the reception more than enthusiastic, while everywhere the speeches of the young Prince were characterized by taste, good feeling and royal dignity. On August 13th he arrived at Quebec, and was welcomed in his ship by the Governor-General of the Canadas, Sir Edmund Head ; by royal salutes from many cannon, the sight of gaily decorated houses and crowds of cheering people on the shores ; and by a visit from the members of the Canadian Ministry, of whom George E. Cartier and John A. Macdonald, A. T. Galt and John Rose, were the

chief. Before leaving the ship, however, a trip was taken up the beautiful Saguenay, and, at last, on the 18th of August, the heir to the throne landed below the heights and ramparts of historic Quebec.

He was received by the Governor-General; Lord Lyons, the British Ambassador at Washington; General Sir W. Fenwick Williams, the Commander of the forces; Sir E. P. Tache, and Sir A. N. McNab; the military and civic officials of Quebec, and enthusiastic crowds of people. An address was presented by the Mayor, Mr. Hector L. Langevin, on behalf of the city, in the course of which he declared that in the Province of Lower Canada would be found "a free people, faithful and loyal, attached to the Sovereign and to their country." The Prince would find himself in this most ancient city of Canada amid a population "testifying by the heartiness of their acclamations and good wishes that, though they derive their origin from various races, and may differ in language and religious denominations, yet they have but one voice and one heart in expressing loyalty to their Sovereign, and in welcoming him who represents her on this occasion." Many other addresses were presented during the following days, including one from the Legislative Council, and another from the Assembly—the united Parliament of Upper and Lower Canada having its meeting place in Quebec at this time. The first was presented by Mr. N. F. Belleau and the second by Mr. Henry Smith, both of whom were knighted by the Prince. In replying to the latter address, His Royal Highness declared that Canada might be "proud that within her limits two races of different language and habits are united in the same Legislature by a common loyalty, and are bound to the same constitution by a common patriotism." A visit to the Falls of Montmorency and a splendid ball at the Citadel followed, and then came more addresses and speeches and processions and all the routine of exuberant loyalty. The reply to one of these addresses is interesting :

"I accept with the greatest satisfaction," said the Prince, "the welcome which you offer me in your own name as the Catholic Bishops of the Province of Canada and on behalf of your clergy, and I assure you that I feel deeply the expression of your loyalty and affection for the Queen. I rejoice to think that obedience to the laws and submission to authority, which form the bond of all society and the condition of all civilization, are supported and enforced by your teaching and examples.

"The assurance that you enjoy the free exercise of your religion, and that you partake in the benefits and protection of the British Constitution, is a pledge that your hearts, and those of your fellow-subjects, of whatever origin they may be, will ever be united in the feelings you now express of attachment to the Crown of Great Britain."

Three Rivers was next visited, and then Montreal, where the reception was one long-continued ovation. Here the Crystal Palace was duly inaugurated, and the great Bridge opened with all possible pomp and ceremony. Everything was done as royally as money and taste—though without much local experience in such stately matters—could do, even the carriage conveying the Prince of Wales to the bridge being lined with crimson velvet and beautifully decorated. Many addresses were presented, and the Anglican Cathedral was attended on Sunday as it had also been in Quebec. Fireworks and illuminations in the evenings and the inevitable State ball ensued, and on August 30th the departure was taken for St. Hyacinthe, Sherbrooke, and other places. Ottawa was finally reached, and the usual loyal reception given. Here the Prince laid the corner-stone of the Parliament Buildings of a future united and continental Dominion of Canada. Then came the visit to Kingston and Toronto, and the regrettable incident connected with the Orange Arches. The Duke of Newcastle had heard that some demonstration of this kind was possible, and at once wrote to the Governor-General that it would be his duty to advise the Prince of Wales not to pass under arches of the nature proposed, or to visit the towns where such semi-religious demonstrations were decided upon.

Sir Edmund Head at once, and very properly, wrote to the mayors of Toronto and Kingston that: "You will bear

in mind that his Royal Highness visits this colony on the special invitation of the whole people, as conveyed by both branches of the Legislature, without distinction of creed or party ; and it would be inconsistent with the spirit and object of such an invitation, and such a visit, to thrust on him the exhibitions of banners and other badges of distinction which are known to be offensive to any portion of Her Majesty's subjects." But the religious and party feeling of the day ran high, and the Orangemen getting the erroneous impression that it was Roman Catholic protests which had caused this communication instead of a settled and proper policy of impartial bearing, persisted in their attitude.

A landing was consequently not made at Kingston, although many addresses were received on board ship. At Belleville, and Cobourg, and Port Hope, an enthusiastic welcome was given the Prince, and Toronto fairly outdid anything yet attempted in Canada. There the Mayor, Mr. (afterwards Chief Justice, Sir) Adam Wilson, read an eloquent address, to which the Prince responded in rather striking and impressive terms :

"You will not doubt the readiness with which I undertook the duty entrusted to me by the Queen of visiting, for her, the British North American dominions ; and now that I have arrived at this distant point of my journey, I can say with truth that the expectations which I had formed of the pleasure and instruction to be derived from it have been more than realized. My only regret is that the Queen has been unable herself to receive the manifestations of the generous loyalty with which you have met her representative—a loyalty tempered and yet strengthened by the intelligent independence of the Canadian character.

"You allude to the marvellous progress which a generation has witnessed upon this spot. I have already been struck throughout my rapid journey by the promise of greatness and the results of energy and industry which are everywhere perceptible, and I feel the pride of an Englishman in the masculine qualities of my countrymen ; in the sanguine and hardy enterprise ; in the fertility of conception and boldness of execution which have enabled a youthful country to outstrip many of the ancient nations of the world."

It is impossible here to refer at length to what followed—the addresses and entertainments, the State ball and other events—or to more than mention the visit to London,

Stratford, Woodstock, Sarnia, Paris, Niagara Falls, Queenston, St. Catherine's, and Hamilton—which preceded the partial tour of the United States. Everywhere the reception of the Prince indicated deep popular loyalty, and evidenced a continuous enthusiasm. It was a sincere and spontaneous expression of regard for the Sovereign, the Royal Family, and British connection. Needless to say the visit was keenly watched by the Queen and Prince Consort, and not the least of the Duke of Newcastle's responsibilities had been his honourable task of keeping Her Majesty fully informed of its progress and success. Writing from Halifax early in the tour, he spoke of the probability that newspaper reports and correspondence will have said more than he can possibly write, but expresses the strong belief that "good has been already sown broadcast by the Prince's visit, and he humbly prays that a rich harvest may arise from it to the honour and glory of your Majesty and your family, and the advantage of the mighty Empire committed to your rule." As the Duke passed on through the country he seems to have more and more understood what its possibilities were and what Imperial unity might really mean in the future. After the border had been crossed he wrote from Dwight, in the State of Illinois, on September 23rd, a brief summary of the tour, which must be given here :

"Now the Canadian visit is concluded, he may pronounce it eminently successful, and may venture to offer Her Majesty his humble but very hearty congratulations. He does not doubt that future years will clearly demonstrate the good which has been done. The attachment to the Crown of England has been greatly cemented, and other nations will have learned how useless it will be in case of war to tamper with the allegiance of the North American Provinces or to invade their shores. There is much in the population of all classes to admire and for a good government to work upon, and the very knowledge that the acts of all will henceforth be more watched in England, because more attention has been drawn to the country, will do good. . . . It has done much good to the Prince of Wales himself, and the development of mind and habit of thought is very perceptible."

The Prince of Wales reached England again, after his United States tour, on November 15th, the voyage home

taking twenty-seven days. As was to have been expected at this period, the comments of the English press dwelt more upon the result of the American than the Canadian visit—where, indeed, they were not confused altogether. But some good was done, and the very great advantage was gained of making the Queen more practically and personally interested in her Canadian provinces than was before possible. In the Colonies the visit was of great value, and increased the substantial basis of loyalty which alone enabled their people to resist the unfriendly abrogation of the Reciprocity Treaty by the United States in 1866, and the accompanying pressure for annexation. One indirect and partial result of the visit was the confederation of the Dominion, and the Canada of to-day. With this latter great event in the history of British America, the Queen had also a direct, as well as indirect interest. There can be little doubt now that the Royal visits to Canada and South Africa were the first links in the chain of Imperial sentiment which was to eventually consign the disintegrationist school to a dishonoured grave. During the years in which Canadian federation was in a state of ebb and flow, Mr. Cardwell, Lord Carnarvon, and the Duke of Buckingham were successively Secretaries of State for the Colonies. To Lord Carnarvon belongs the most of the credit, so far as English co-operation and impetus went, for its eventual success. Speaking in the House of Commons on February 14th, 1867, he declared that: "We are laying the foundation of a great state—perhaps one which at a future day may even overshadow this country. But come what may, we shall rejoice that we have shown neither indifference to their wishes nor jealousy of their aspirations, but that we honestly and sincerely, to the utmost of our power and knowledge, fostered their growth, recognizing in it the conditions of our own greatness."

Lord Carnarvon, however, had not always been an Imperialist, and, as in the case of the Duke of Newcastle, it seems not improbable that the Queen had exercised an

influence in the moulding of his views. It was far otherwise indeed, with many of his colleagues and contemporaries. On the very day the extract just quoted was spoken, Earl Russell, with all the prestige of an ex-Prime Minister attached to him, declared that confederation "would place the colonies on such a footing that in the event of their ever being desirous of severing the connection, they would be able to choose their future position in the world regardless of any external disturbing influence, and to make their own arrangements in harmony with their own wishes and feelings." This open encouragement of independence was followed by similar speeches in the Commons from Mr. Bright, Mr. Fortescue (afterwards Lord Carlingford), and others. But, fortunately, Canadian loyalty was too well secured for this sort of thing to break or diminish it seriously, and in this condition the personality of the Queen was perhaps the greatest factor, helped as it had been by the visit of the Prince of Wales.

Meantime Confederation had, in the main, been adjusted, and the successful Canadian statesmen—Macdonald, Cartier, Calt, Tupper, and Tilley—who had been in London for some time arranging the details, were received by the Queen just before their departure at a special Court. Sir John (then Mr.) Macdonald, in a letter to his sister, dated March 21st, 1867, describes the event: "I went in first, as head of the Conference. There were only in the room the Queen, Princess Louise, and Lord Carnarvon, the Colonial Secretary. On entering the Queen put out her hand, on which I knelt and kissed it. On rising, she said, 'I am very glad to see you on this mission.' I bowed. 'I hope all things are going well with you.' I said I was happy to inform Her Majesty that all things had been prosperous with us, and by the aid of Lord Carnarvon our measure had made great progress, and there had been no delays. Her Majesty said, 'It is a very important measure, and you have all exhibited so much loyalty.' I replied, 'We have desired in this measure to declare in the most

solemn and emphatic manner our resolve to be under the sovereignty of your Majesty and your family for ever.' And so ended the audience. She had kind words for all those who followed me, Cartier, Galt, Tupper, and Tilley." But it had not all been clear sailing, and in the arrangements as a whole Sir John was obviously hampered in his ambitious and Imperialistic designs by the prevalence of the opposite principle. In a letter to Lord Knutsford—published in Mr. Pope's work, and dated July 18th, 1889—he states that a great opportunity was lost in 1867, and proceeds to say that :

"The declaration of the B. N. A. Provinces that they desired as one Dominion to remain a portion of the Empire showed what wise government and generous treatment would do, and should have been marked as an epoch in the history of England. This would probably have been the case had Lord Carnarvon, who as Colonial Minister had sat at the cradle of the new Dominion, remained in office. His ill-omened resignation was followed by the appointment of the Duke of Buckingham, who had as his adviser the then Governor-General, Lord Monck—both good men, certainly, but quite unable from the constitution of their minds to rise to the occasion. The Union was treated by them much as if the B. N. A. Act were a private bill uniting two or three English parishes. Had a different course been pursued—for instance, had united Canada been declared to be an auxiliary Kingdom, as it was in the Canadian draft of the Bill—I feel sure (almost) that the Australians would ere this have been applying to be placed in the same rank as "The Kingdom of Canada."

In a postscript Sir John adds that it was not the Duke of Buckingham himself who caused the change from kingdom to Dominion. "It was made at the instance of Lord Derby, then Foreign Minister, who feared the first name would wound the susceptibilities of the Yankees." To those who know the curious character of the late Earl of Derby, this characteristically timid, if not cowardly, conduct will be easily understood. He was then one of the leading Manchester school disciples, and there is little doubt, from a perusal of modern colonial history and a comprehension of English foreign policy, that he did more harm to the loyalty of the external Empire—and to the Imperial principle at home through his desertion of Lord Beaconsfield

in 1878—than all the others put together. His high position and peculiar qualities contributed to this unfortunate result. Hence the loss of this splendid opportunity of consolidating the Empire by gradually gathering a group of sister kingdoms around the Throne of the motherland. But Sir John Macdonald, as the work of his life proceeded, had the consolation of knowing that public sentiment and the public men of England were forced to grow steadily and surely up to his broad view of the Imperial situation. By the Queen he was always highly appreciated, and her action in calling him to the British Privy Council and making him a G.C.B. indicated this feeling to what was in those days, a remarkable extent. Her Ministers made the formal recommendation and received the popular credit, but it is not improbable that the real initiative came from the Crown.

It certainly did in the peerage conferred upon Lady Macdonald in 1891, and the accompanying letter, in which Her Majesty, without the usual Royal and formal style, declares that "though I have not the pleasure of knowing you personally, I am desirous of writing to express what I have already done (by a cable to the Governor-General), my deep sympathy with you in your present deep affliction for the loss of your dear distinguished husband. I wish also to say how truly and sincerely grateful I am for his devoted and faithful services which he rendered for so many years to his Sovereign and the Dominion. It gives me much pleasure to mark my high sense of Sir John Macdonald's distinguished services by conferring on you a public mark of regard for yourself as well as for him." A few years later Her Majesty was showering every possible token of sympathy upon the family and country of Sir John Thompson. The kindly telegram and personal letter to his widow; the almost Royal honours conferred upon the memory of the Canadian statesman who had thus died so near the Throne of his Empire; the Queen's personal compliment to Canada in sending the stately

"Blenheim" to bear his remains home to their last resting-place; the placing of a wreath by her own hands on his coffin at Windsor; the permission afterwards given to Mr. Bell Smith—a Canadian artist worthy of the honour—to paint the scene and herself as the central figure; illustrated Her Majesty's Imperial sympathies.

But this is anticipating a story which should include many more incidents of Royal interest in Canada than space can possibly permit. Following the Prince of Wales' visit came a brief one from Prince Alfred in 1861, and again in 1878; a longer tour by Prince Arthur in 1869, and as Duke of Connaught in 1890; a hasty visit from Prince Leopold in 1880, and the residence of Princess Louise in the Dominion as the wife of the Governor-General, the Marquess of Lorne. Prince Leopold's tour in 1880 was carried out in strict privacy, owing to the state of his health, and although he visited Montreal, Ottawa, Toronto, and other cities, he was unable to participate in public functions or do more than study the country for the noble purposes which he had mapped out for himself. With all possible care, however, he was laid up for a time while fishing on the lower St. Lawrence, and was tended with assiduity by Mrs. Stephen—wife of the future Lord Mount-Stephen—at their summer residence. For this personal kindness she afterwards received a charming letter of thanks and appreciation from the Queen. The death of the Prince a few years after this visit adds a most mournful shade to the fact that he desired to be appointed Governor-General in succession to Lord Lorne, and to the knowledge that his lovable character and high gifts would have enabled him to do much good in that important position. The addresses to Her Majesty passed in 1884 by both Houses of Parliament at Ottawa, and the Legislature of Quebec, dwelt with deserved eulogy upon these recognised qualities of the young Prince, and illustrate the influence which he might have so increasingly wielded.

The reception given in Canada to the Marquess of

Lorne and the Princess Louise, when, during 1878, they came to fill the vice-regal position, was warmly enthusiastic. Abundant preparations had been made for the event in all the cities through which they were to pass, and at Halifax they had the Duke of Edinburgh with them during the local ceremonies of welcome. But he could not leave his ship to go further into the country. At various places along the route to Montreal loyal demonstrations were made, and everywhere people showed their pleasure at having a daughter of the Queen in their midst. At the commercial metropolis of the St. Lawrence, amongst many addresses and functions, was one of the former presented by the Ladies' Educational Association to the Princess. To it Her Royal Highness read a reply, in which occur some thoughts well worthy of remembrance and attention to-day. "The fruits of education are so attractive that we are often tempted to force them prematurely, without sufficient tillage, and thus lose sight of the true objects of education, which consist much more in the development of the intellect than in the mere putting in of superficial knowledge, and of cramming. Hence our necessity of grounding in the rudiments of knowledge, and thoroughness in all that is done. Knowledge thus got never dies. Knowledge got otherwise never lives."

At Ottawa a similar reception was given, and Royalty for the first time was duly installed in the local home of Her Majesty's Canadian representative. In reply to one of the addresses presented, Lord Lorne took occasion to pay a most eloquent tribute to the qualities and work of his predecessor. "A thousand memories," he very truly declared, "throughout the length and breadth of the land speak of Lord Dufferin. It needs with you no titular memorials, such as the names of streets and bridges, to commemorate the name of him who not only adorned all he touched, but by his eloquence and wisdom proved of what incalculable advantage to the state it was to have the representative of the Sovereign one in whose nature

judiciousness and impartiality, kindness, grace and excellence were so blended that his advice was a boon equally desired by all, his approbation a prize to be coveted, and the words that came from his silvery tongue, which always charmed and never hurt, were treasures to be cherished." Naturally, the Princess Louise spent a part of her time in England, where she must have been greatly missed by the Queen—whose children had all one by one left their Royal home with the exception of Princess Beatrice. But with certain exceptions, chiefly in connection with an unfortunate accident in Ottawa which caused her some sickness and pain, the Princess seems to have liked Canada, and she certainly left behind her many pleasing memories amongst those who had the privilege of knowing her, to say nothing of the general and personal appreciation of the people at having the cultured and clever daughter of the Queen in their midst. And this feeling was thoroughly voiced in the Parliamentary address presented to Lord Lorne and the Princess on their departure from Ottawa in May, 1883. "The presence of your illustrious Consort in Canada," it was stated, "seems to have drawn us closer to our beloved Sovereign, and in saying farewell to your Excellency and Her Royal Highness, whose kindly and gracious sympathies, manifested upon so many occasions, have endeared her to all hearts, we humbly beg that you will personally convey to Her Majesty the declaration of our loyal attachment, and of our determination to maintain firm and abiding our connection with the great Empire over which she rules."

In 1890 the Duke and Duchess of Connaught returned home from India where His Royal Highness had for some years commanded the forces in one of the presidencies, and received wherever they stopped a thorough Canadian welcome. In Toronto many addresses were presented at the Pavilion, which was beautifully decorated for the purpose, and much respectful enthusiasm was shown by the crowds everywhere. The Prince's reply to an address

from the Imperial Federation League was specially noteworthy. "We can never forget," he said, "that at the time of the Egyptian war we had standing side by side with our troops representatives of the Canadian Militia, and Canadian boatmen. We had representatives of the Australian militia, and we had also representatives of our brave Indian troops. I, for one, hope some day that we may see some sort of federation similar to what you wish, but I believe it can only come at the desire, the expressly desired wish of the Colonies, of which there are many in Her Majesty's Empire, and I am certain that no one will more readily take them into their arms than the Queen and the people of Great Britain."

Coming to other details, it may be said that in 1880 Her Majesty commissioned Mr. L. R. O'Brien, President of the Royal Canadian Academy, to paint her a view of the historic citadel at Quebec, and four years later sent some copies of her work, "More Leaves from the Journal of a Life in the Highlands," to Mr. (now Sir) J. A. Chapleau, Secretary of State, for presentation to the principal Canadian libraries. Each book bore the Queen's autograph, and in an accompanying letter it was stated to be her desire to thus show her interest in the literary culture of the Dominion. In 1882 the attack upon the Queen by Roderick Maclean aroused the loyalty and sympathy of Canadians to an unusual degree, and loyal addresses were passed by the Dominion Parliament and the Legislatures of Quebec, Nova-Scotia, New Brunswick, Manitoba, and British Columbia. From the women of Canada an address, signed by 50,000 persons, was sent, through the Governor-General, and obtained from Her Majesty, through Lord Lorne, a personal response. "I have received with feelings of the sincerest gratification," wrote the Queen, "the loyal and affectionate address presented to me by the women of Canada. I wish you would convey to the signers of that address my heartfelt thanks for the cordial and friendly expressions they have used towards me,

and to assure the women of the Dominion of my earnest wish to promote their happiness and welfare."

In November, 1885, when the Canadian Pacific Railway was completed and opened to traffic, the most important and immediate congratulation was from the Queen. Lord Lansdowne wrote at once to his Premier, Sir John Macdonald, announced the receipt of the cabled message, and proceeded: "Her Majesty is pleased to add that she has watched its progress with much interest, and that she hopes for the future success of a work of such value and importance to the Empire." During 1886 the Queen was much pleased with the Canadian section of the Indian and Colonial Exhibition, and after the opening ceremonies cabled to Lord Lansdowne at Ottawa as follows:

"London, May 5th, 1886.—Opening of the Exhibition went off splendidly; delighted to see so many of my Canadian subjects.
"VICTORIA R. I."

During the Colonial Conference of 1887 Her Majesty followed its deliberations with interest, and received many Canadians of prominence at Windsor or Buckingham Palace. The people of Canada, on their part, have never been behindhand in their open, honest loyalty. The celebrations in the Dominion during the Jubilee were ample illustrations of this fact, and the addresses of congratulation from the two Houses of Parliament were representative of the sincere and strong public feeling. One paragraph must be quoted:

"From a few scattered provinces it has become a great Federation, stretching from ocean to ocean, and linking by its iron path the European to the Asiatic portions of your Majesty's domain. It has been the good fortune of the people of Canada to enjoy from time to time the honour of the presence and countenance of several members of the Royal Family, and this relationship not only deepened their loyal devotion to the head of the British Empire, but enhanced their regard for the wife and mother and their veneration for the memory of the husband and father. Our earnest prayer is that He who is the Ruler of all nations and the King of all kings may uphold, direct, and preserve your Majesty for many long years to reign over a prosperous and contented people."

The loyal resolution of 1890 was couched in still stronger terms, and was intended to indicate to the American people the absence of any important annexationist feeling in Canada. But it really required no resolution of stereotyped loyalty to embody the true sentiment of the Dominion. It might have been needed, and is needed, to convince that unreasonable and unreasoning sentiment in the minds of the American people which seems to exist wherever Canada is concerned. The hearts of the Canadians, however, are so closely linked to their Sovereign by ties of sincere affection and profound respect that they themselves require no special assertion of the fact. They believe in the institution of a limited monarchy as the only means of preserving a really dignified democracy, and conserving a permanent British connection and an all-powerful British Empire. They have a land that is "rich in heart, in home, in hope, in liberty," and they have had all these elements of national greatness and individual benefit developed under the rule of their Queen and through the practical working of monarchical institutions—institutions which rest upon the free will of a free people, and interpret the best thoughts and aspirations of modern civilization, while combining the wealth of historic tradition with the impetus and freshness of vast new regions and rising nations all over the world.

Toronto,
Canada.



